

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 HA-05 NRC-05 EB-08
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/113 W

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O R 231000Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6178
INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO
CH USDEL JBUSMC RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 1351

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, BR
SUBJ: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

REF: A) STATE 219277, B) STATE 23843, C) STATE 34007,
D) STATE 36544

1. SUMMARY OF EMBASSY'S IMPELMENTATION PLAN FOR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES
(REFS B AND C) FOLLOWS:

2. IMPROVEMENT IN BILATERAL RELATIONS: WHILE THE TONE OF OUR
RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL IS CONSIDERABLY BETTER THAN IT WAS LAST
MARCH, WHEN THEY REACHED A LOW POINT, THEIR SUBSTANCE--GUIDED BY A
LONG-STANDING BUT INTENSIFIED BRAZILIAN DETERMINATION GRADUALLY
BUT CONSISTENTLY TO DECREASE BRAZIL'S TRADITIONAL DEPENDENCE UPON
THE UNITED STATES--IS IN DOUBT. THIS WILL REMAIN THE CASE UNTIL
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN US IMPROVES AND BRAZIL BECOMES CONVINCED
THAT OUR POLICIES--ESPECIALLY IN THE NON-PROLIFERATION AND TRADE
FIELDS--ARE NOT AIMED AT RETARDING ITS DEVELOPMENT AS A MAJOR
POWER.

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PRESIDENT CARTER'S FORTHCOMING VISIT WILL PROVIDE
A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THAT COMMUNICA-
TION. TO THE EXTENT THAT HE IS ABLE TO CONVINCE THE
GOB OF BOTH THE SINCERITY AND THE GLOBAL PURPOSE OF
OUR POLICIES, HE WILL PROVIDE A BASE FROM WHICH TO
CONTINUE EFFORTS TO RE-BUILD AN ACTIVE BILATERAL

RELATIONSHIP THAT SERVES OUR INTERESTS IN AREAS
IMPORTANT TO US. THIS WILL NOT BE AN EASY TASK.

OUR FIRST IMPERATIVE IS TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE GOB
THAT THE US ACCEPTS AS LEGITIMATE BRAZIL'S
DESIRE TO ATTAIN MAJOR POWER STATUS, AND THAT WE BOTH
ACCEPT AND ENCOURAGE AN ASSUMPTION OF RESPONSIBILITY
BY BRAZIL IN GLOBAL COUNCILS THAT IS COMMENSURATE WITH
HER GROWING POWER AND INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD. FOLLOWING
ON THAT, WAYS IN WHICH WE INTEND TO SEEK TO IMPLEMENT
THE MORE SPECIFIC GOALS AND OBJECTIVES CONTAINED IN
REFTEL (D) ARE OUTLINED BELOW.

3. AGREEMENT ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION: WITH
RESPECT TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUE, THE PRESIDENT'S
VISIT WILL PROVIDE A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE US TO
SEEK BRAZILIAN UNDERSTANDING OF AND COOPERATION IN A
US POLICY THAT:

--MAINTAINS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN, ON THE ONE HAND, THE
BRAZILIAN GOAL OF ENRICHMENT, QUESTIONABLE BUT LEGIT-
IMATE IN TERMS OF THE REST OF THE NUCLEAR PROGRAM,
AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE GOAL OF REPROCESSING,
WHICH, WHILE PARTLY MOTIVATED BY THE DESIRE FOR
LONG TERM INDEPENDENCE IN NUCLEAR FUEL SUPPLY,
RESERVES A NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES OPTION.
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--EXPOSES THE BRAZILIAN POSITION ON REPROCESSING
TO THE FULL RANGE OF COUNTERARGUMENT IN ORDER TO
DESTROY THE RATIONALIZATIONS, REVEAL THE GLOBAL
IMPLICATIONS, AND APPLY MORAL PRESSURE ON ALL
PARTIES INVOLVED, EUROPEAN AS WELL AS BRAZILIAN.

-- ENCOURAGES FULL FRG PARTICIPATION IN THE
ENRICHMENT FACILITY AS BOTH A CONTROL MEASURE AND
A METHOD TO PERMIT CONTINUED US NUCLEAR COOPERA-
TION WITH BRAZIL.

-- ENCOURAGES IMPLEMENTATION OF FULL-SCOPE SAFEGUARDS
BY BRAZIL, BOTH BY MAKING CLEAR THAT THE NEW US
LEGISLATION MAKES US NUCLEAR COOPERATION CONTINGENT
UPON THEIR ADOPTION, AND BY CALLING THE BRAZILIAN
BLUFF ON TLATELOLCO BY WORKING TOWARDS RATIFICATION
BY ALL LATIN AMERICAN STATES AND SIGNATURE OF THE
PROTOCOLS BY THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES.

-- ENCOURAGES COOPERATION IN ALTERNATIVE NUCLEAR AND
CONVENTIONAL POWER APPLICATIONS, IN ORDER TO

DEMONSTRATE BOTH THE PRACTICALITY OF ALTERNATIVES
AND THE US READINESS TO COLLABORATE WITH BRAZILIAN
GROWTH.

-- USES INFCE AS A TECHNICAL FORUM TO EXPOSE BRAZILIAN CONCERNS AND
RATIONALIZATIONS OF ITS REPROCESSING PLANS, BUT WITHOUT
DRIVING BRAZIL OUT OF INFCE WITH FRONTAL ATTACKS ON ITS
ENTIRE NUCLEAR PROGRAM.

4. PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS: HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AN ISSUE IN BRAZILIAN
GOVERNMENTAL, POLITICAL AND INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES, AND ARE
WIDELY DISCUSSED IN THE PRESS. THE EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO
RAISE THE LEVEL OF BRAZILIAN CONSCIOUSNESS OF THIS ISSUE BY,
AMONG OTHER THINGS, ATTEMPTING TO PROMOTE GREATER AWARENESS OF USG
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CONCERNS AND INTERESTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. CONSISTENT
WITH PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVE NO. 30 WE PLAN, DISCREETLY BUT
AFFIRMATIVELY, TO CONTINUE TO EXPRESS THE CENTRALITY OF HUMAN
RIGHTS CONCERNS IN USG FOREIGN POLICY ON A WORLDWIDE BASIS, WHILE
ACKNOWLEDGING PAST, AND ENCOURAGING FUTURE, IMPROVEMENTS IN THE
GOB'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE, BY:

--MAINTAINING SUPPORTIVE LIAISON WITH BRAZILIAN CIVIL LIBERTY AND
HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND FAVORABLY-DISPOSED MEMBERS OF THE
GOVERN-
MENT AND THE POLITICAL CLASS, THE PRESS, EDUCATORS, THE CHURCH, ETC;
--ENCOURAGING OFFICIAL USG VISITORS TO INCLUDE HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS
ON THEIR AGENDAS IN A CONTINUING EFFORT TO EXPLAIN US POLICIES AND
THE RATIONALE THEREFORE;
--EXPLOITING WHERE POSSIBLE THE "HUMAN RIGHTS ANGLE" IN CULTURAL
AND EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS AND UNOFFICIAL CONTACTS RESULTING
FROM THEM, AS WELL AS IN OFFICIAL INFORMATION PROGRAMS TO EXPLAIN US
POLICY; AND
--ENCOURAGING, THROUGH AS CLOSE COOPERATION AS THE GOB WILL ACCEPT,
BRAZILIAN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES IN THE UN, OAS
AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

5. IMPROVEMENT OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS/STIMULATION OF
MORE RESPONSIBLE BRAZILIAN POSITIONS ON GLOBAL ISSUES
TO IMPROVE BILATERAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS AND STIMULATE MORE RESPONSIBLE
BRAZILIAN POSITIONS ON GLOBAL ISSUES, THE US SHOULD USE, TO THE FULL-
EST EXTENT FEASIBLE, EXISTING CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS IN THE ECONOMIC
AREA AS WELL AS PERIODIC CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND
THE FOREIGN MINISTER. IN ADDITION TO BIENNIAL SESSIONS OF THE
SUB-GROUP ON TRADE, AND PERIODIC TREASURY-FOREIGN MINISTRY CONSULTATIONS,
WE RECOMMEND VISITS BY US CABINET OFFICERS, NOTABLY SECRETARY
BLUMENTHAL, AND ACTIVATION OF THE ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE GROUP (UNDER
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SECRETARY LEVEL), WHICH COULD MEET IN WASHINGTON THIS SUMMER. CONSIDERATION SHOULD ALSO BE GIVEN TO BROADENING THE ANNUAL US-BRAZILIAN CONSULTATIONS ON UN MATTERS HEADED BY IO'S ASSISTANT SECRETARY--TRADITIONALLY DONE BEFORE CONVENING OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY--TO COVER LOS, COMMON FUND, AND UN OVERVIEW MECHANISM ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. EMBASSY WOULD ALSO WELCOME THE VISIT OF SENIOR TEAMS ON MTN AND COMMON FUND TO BRASILIA.

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 HA-05 NRC-05 EB-08
OMB-01 ACDA-12 A-01 OES-07 SNM-05 CU-04 IO-13
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O R 231000Z FEB 78
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6179
INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO
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CH USDEL JBUSMC RIO DE JANEIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 1351

6. MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH BRAZIL: BRAZIL'S RENUNCIATION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND DENUNCIATION OF RELATED MILITARY AGREEMENTS WITH THE US IN 1977 SHARPLY REDUCED THE SCOPE OF USG-GOB MILITARY COOPERATION. BRAZIL WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH THE US UNDER THE MULTILATERAL UMBRELLA OF THE RIO TREATY--AND WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE SUCH COOPERATION BY AN INCREASING FREQUENCY OF MULINATIONAL OPERATIONS AND EXERCISES--BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT BRAZIL WILL NO LONGER ACCEPT A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH US WHICH PLACES IT IN A DEPENDENT ROLE AS IN THE PAST. UNTIL WE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF USDEL JBUSMC OVER THE NEXT 6 MONTHS, WE SHOULD STRIKE AN ESSENTIALLY WAITE-AND-SEE POSTURE, MAKING CLEAR, IN RESPONSE TO ANY SEERIOUS GOB INITIATIVE, OUR WILLINGNESS TO STUDY ANY FUTURE FORM OF SECURITY COOPERATION THE GOB MAY SEEK TO EXPLORE WITH US. WE SHOULD NOT OFFER NEW

USG INITIATIVES, WHICH IN ANY CASE ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE REBUFFED.

MEANWHILE, WE SHOULD CONTINUE BILATERAL MILITARY ACTIVITIES NOT AFFECTED BY THE GOB ACTIONS OF 1977 SO LONG AS THEY ARE CONSISTENT WITH US LAW AND POLICY.

7. CHAIRMAN US DEL JBUSMC DOES NOT CONCUR WITH PARA 6 ABOVE AND
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PREFERS THE FOLLOWING FORMULATION:

QUOTE: GIVEN THE PREDOMINANT ROLE WHICH THE BRAZILIAN ARMED FORCES WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY IN THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM OVER THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, A MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT WELL DISPOSED TO THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO BE OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE PURSUIT OF OVERALL UNITED STATES OBJECTIVES. BRAZILIAN TERMINATION OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND RELATED MILITARY AGREEMENTS WILL SHARPLY DECREASE DEFENSE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THIS TREND, IF CONTINUED, COULD SERIOUSLY ERODE OR REVERSE THE PRESENT PRO-UNITED STATES ORIENTATION AND GOOD WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE BRAZILIAN MILITARY. IT IS CLEAR THAT BRAZIL WILL NOT ACCEPT A FUTURE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH IT HAS A DEPENDENT ROLE AS IN THE PAST; HOWEVER, AS THE MILITARY MISSIONS ARE TERMINATED WE SHOULD MAKE CLEAR OUR WILLINGNESS TO STUDY ANY FUTURE FORM OF SECURITY COOPERATION WHICH THE GOB MAY WISH TO EXPLORE WITH US. IN THE MEANTIME, MINDFUL OF OUR LONG TERM POLITICAL AND SECURITY INTEREST, WE SHOULD ENDEAVOR, CONSISTENT WITH THE EXISTING UNITED STATES LAWS AND POLICY, TO FOCUS ON DAMAGE LIMITATION AND CONTINUANCE OF THOSE MILITARY PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE NOT AFFECTED AND WHICH WILL PRESERVE OR RESTORE CONSTRUCTIVE BILATERAL MILITARY TIES. END QUOTE.

8. NARCOTICS CONTROL: THE ENBASSY, PRIMARILY THROUGH DEA, WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE LIAISON WITH -- AND PROVIDE NECESSARY EQUIPMENT AND TRAINING TO -- BRAZILIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES FOR THE PURPOSES OF MONITORING INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS TRAFFIC THROUGH BRAZIL AND ENCOURAGING THE GOB TO MAINTAIN A VIGOROUS ANTI-NARCOTICS ENFORCEMENT EFFORT.

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To: STATE
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